

PEACE NEWS

No. 321

AUGUST 7, 1942

2d.

The War—And The Way Out!

PATRICK FIGGIS

FOR THE SECOND TIME in the memory of most of us we are in the midst of war; this time a more terrible war than has ever been fought before. I do not believe that this means that people as a whole or the people of any one country are so bad that peace is impossible.

Rather do I believe that the present situation is in the main due to the fact that each nation has first thought of itself, basing its policies upon national self-interest. While, under capitalism, there has been competition for markets and raw materials so fierce that war became almost inevitable.

The way out of the situation, we are told, is to fight the war to a finish. Some people genuinely believe in this way. Others have grave doubts about it, but feel unable to withdraw their support. While a small but growing number are definitely opposed to the war, but can do little to make their opinion known.

I BELIEVE that, so far from this being the way out, the longer the war is continued the farther it MUST lead us in to mutual destruction and moral disaster. Men on both sides have to commit such atrocities on so large a scale today, if they are to stand a chance of winning, that they cannot help sowing the seeds of hatred and passion for revenge, so making it probable that another war will result. While, as a Christian, I believe that evil anywhere can only be overcome by the active good will, carried out to the farthest limits, which Jesus taught us and which he practised.

I TOO HATE NAZISM and every form of oppression. But how can it be overthrown? How can this war be ended? How can we make as certain as possible that it is the last war? I believe that two things should be done.

1. In World Affairs—The Bold Course

We should propose now to our allies and enemies that AN ARMISTICE be held. Sooner or later we shall have to talk things out. LET THE TALKING TAKE PLACE NOW before further slaughter is made.

It may be said that we cannot talk to the Germans until Hitler has been overthrown. But I believe that the longer we wait the harder sensible talking will be. It may be said too that Hitler will not talk to us. If he will not, since our country believes in defending herself, she must continue to fight. But, because of the costly process of war, I believe that before long the German leaders may well be prepared to talk with us. It will be in the interests of both countries. And it would be impossible for the German people, who I believe are as tired of war as we are, sooner or later not to hear of the offer that would be made also to them.

This is not to condone Nazism, which I hate as much as anyone. But because it is the FIRST STEP towards peace and freedom from oppression we must urge that such an offer be made. Food should be sent now to Belgium and the other "occupied" countries. But we cannot properly help the enslaved people of any country until a halt has first been

called to the mass killing of men, women, and innocent children.

Let us rather realize the utter futility of war; call a halt to the mutual slaughter; distribute food and other essentials of life before it is too late; at any rate so far as we are concerned, give freedom to the millions over whom at present we rule; and then discuss the most sensible way of sharing the resources of the earth, so that men may not die but live.

Such a policy, I believe, will appeal, not only to the people in England and Germany, but to the suffering millions in Russia, too, as the best one to adopt in the circumstances.

2. At Home—A Better, Nobler Britain

Sweeping social reforms, leading up to a COMPLETE SOCIAL CHANGE, should be made in this country. We shall not persuade the people of other countries that we are in earnest about the building of a juster and better world, unless they see that we have a society here in which justice is practised.

Nor, anyway, should such glaring social wrongs be allowed to remain as are, unhappily, all too abundantly found in Poplar. Such injustices as the present allowances for the families of men in the forces, the present scale of supplementary and old age pensions, wages paid to such workers as labourers, railway men, men working on the road and (when out of work) dockers—these and other inequalities should be rectified at once.

But we also must change our system of society in such a way that the people themselves will own the means of production and distribution; and EACH PERSON GET A FAIR SHARE OF WEALTH AND OPPORTUNITY. A good house, secure employment, education until the age of 18 (for those who desire it), proper maintenance in illness and old age—these things all are possible. But competition for the betterment of the few must give place to co-operation for the welfare of each and every individual.

A competitive society in which the weakest go to the wall is wrong in the sight of God, and insane. We must overthrow every vested interest, until we are free from the bondage of capitalism, and justice can be done.

The Way Forward

Such, I believe to be the real way forward. But the time is short.

Will you give me your support—NOW? You may not get another chance for years of voting for a different form of government. And there is no risk in this policy half so great as the risk involved in trying to get peace by continuing war. WE HAVE NEGOTIATED WITH GERMANY to allow FOOD RELIEF ships through to Greece; we can at least try to negotiate also upon the wider issue. And remember that the alternative to this way can only be the continuation, for may be many years, of this terrible war.

My policy, I believe, to be in line with what GEORGE LANSBURY stood for in Bow and Bromley for many years. I believe too, that it is the way forward that God calls us to take. And as I have sought during



Christian Socialist

goes to the poll in South Poplar on August 12. We print here his election address.

the last two years of war to serve in a small way the interests of some of the people of Bow, so I pledge myself to stand for this policy and to serve your interests and the interests of your children if you elect me as your representative in Parliament.

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE FUND

THE response to our appeal for the removal of the debt on Dick Sheppard House has been encouraging. The St. Albans Group makes the third of those contributing their quota. They have sent £11 16s.

Alex Wood reports that the appeal is being taken up with great enthusiasm in his area, and we expect to be able to announce shortly substantial help from the groups there.

Maurice Rowntree has already raised £7 9s. for the fund by the sale of his paintings. It is an interesting and friendly way of raising money which he hopes to pursue by the arrangement of a well-arranged exhibition in London of paintings by himself and others. More of this, please, elsewhere.

Can some of the groups arrange for fruit and vegetable sales from materials from members' and friends' gardens? A Harvest Thanksgiving for Dick Sheppard. Please think out new and useful ways of raising money for the fund.

The total received most gratefully by us now stands at £369 7s. 6d.

James H. Hudson
Alfred Salter

Joint Honorary Treasurers.

COMMENTARY

Edited by "Observer"

If the Government Falls

THE idea that, if Russia is rendered incapable of organized resistance before a second front is opened in Western Europe, the Government will fall—and Mr. Churchill with it, this time—seems to be gaining ground and definiteness. The obscure hints given by The Times of July 22 (see last week's Commentary) became decidedly less vague a week later.

The men who, on the British side, bear at this moment the responsibility for a momentous decision are in the main the men who have been responsible for the supreme direction of the war over the past two years. In the end the effectiveness or the ineffectiveness of the support given to Russia in her hour of peril will, quite inevitably, be taken—and on the whole rightly taken—as the acid test of the ability and foresight with which the conduct of the war has been planned and developed (Times, July 29).

There is no mistaking the meaning of that. If Russia takes the count, before a second front is opened, down goes Churchill. Up goes—what?

Prepare Now!

THERE must be something in this story, in the sense that it is a view of the immediate political future sufficiently widely shared to be not only credible but influential. It appears in substantially the same form in The Times, the News Chronicle, and in a speech by Lord Strabolgi, which takes the matter a little further.

Lord Strabolgi said at Wellingborough, Northants, last night that there would be a deep and extensive political reaction in Britain if the Russian military machine was crippled and decisive results obtained by the Germans in Russia without a blow being struck by our growing forces in the West.

Socialists might be caught napping by a snap general election as a result of these events. They should leave the Government and prepare to form an alternative Government, while giving full support to the war effort (Express, July 29).

By Socialists, Lord Strabolgi presumably means members of the Labour Party; and presumably he means that they should leave the Government now: for even the almost infinitely gullible electorate might not be impressed if they were to leave it after the Russian collapse that the argument assumes.

No Real Opposition

ON the other hand, it may be that by Socialists Lord Strabolgi means the small group of Labour

members who voted against the Government on the Wardlaw-Milne motion—the rebellion on pensions does not count. These could hardly leave the Government, for they were never in it. So we are compelled to interpret Lord Strabolgi as demanding that the Labour Party should leave the Government now.

Strange things happen in politics; but it is hardly believable that Labour will, at this point of time, be allowed to disguise itself as a valid alternative government. If there should be a snap general election after a Russian collapse the real opposition can come only from a peace party. What practicable programme could the Labour "Socialists" put forward? That a war, in the event of Russian collapse universally admitted to be hopeless, should be waged till the crack of doom?

The Communist Game

THE irresponsibility of encouraging or conniving at a popular agitation for a second front is manifest. First, because the problem is a purely military one which can be decided only by a purely professional judgment. The failure of such an attempt would be quite disastrous. It would clear the ground for successful invasion of this country. It would destroy the last hope of anti-German revolution in Europe. The attempt therefore must be successful. This is not a matter on which an even chance can be taken. The chances must be overwhelmingly in favour of success to justify the attempt at all. As Gen. Sikorski puts it, "It is indispensable that the second front shall be created in conditions giving a guarantee of success" (Express, July 20).

Nor should we be afraid to point out that, if they stick to the doctrines of Lenin, the Communists who are at the back of this "popular" agitation would not regard the failure of such an attempt as disastrous. It would finally discredit a government to which there is no constitutional alternative, and produce the revolutionary situation which is the Communist's heart's desire. No wonder, then, that the Nineteenth Century and the National Review denounce the agitation as "playing the German game."

Effect on Oppressed

THE former Socialist Deputy for Lyons, M. Andre Philip, has pointed out that uninformed public clamour for a second front, when nobody knows whether the demand can be satisfied or not, merely exasperates the nerves of those Frenchmen who are waiting at home for the opportunity of rising against the Germans. How many these are, we have no idea. M. Philip says they are a majority of Frenchmen. Perhaps. But it is very easy to believe what one desires to believe. The Economist (Aug. 1) concludes a grim account

(Continued on page 2)

How You Can Help

GORDON BELLINGHAM, who is Patrick Figgis's agent, tells us that one of his chief needs in kind is a car. With motoring further restricted now, it has so far proved impossible to get one; but a petrol allowance has been officially provided for the election, and all that is needed is the loan of a car immediately until polling day. The Central Committee Rooms are at 174 East India Dock Rd., E.14.

Gifts of money, however, which are now needed more than ever, should be sent to Kingsley Hall, Powys Rd., Bow, London E.3.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing & Advertisement
Office: (Please specify department)

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3

Subscription Rates:

Home: Quarterly, 3/3; Yearly, 12/6
Abroad: Quarterly, 2/9; Yearly, 10/6

The Choice

NOT very long ago, Mr. Henry Luce, the proprietor of Time, Life, and Fortune—impressive trinity—and perhaps the most influential editor in USA, declared that this war was the prelude to “the American century.” Vice-President Wallace, in a speech which attracted little attention at the time it was delivered but afterwards gained a wide audience, repudiated this notion and declared instead that after the war must follow “the century of the common man”—the century in which, by the deliberate dedication of the resources of the USA to the purpose, the standard of life of the world's masses must be raised to a level commensurate with the world's productive powers.

Our criticism of this conception of a new international order has been that those who propounded it gave no indication of how it was to be achieved. They kept an ominous silence on the measures which the member nations of the new world-society would have to impose upon themselves; and, even more serious, they did not realize to what extent the measures of national war-socialism, instead of making for a new world-society, were preparing the ground for even fiercer economic antagonisms in the future.

Courageously, Vice-President Wallace has now brought the problem at least half way down to earth. Writing in the New York Times, he has bravely tackled the economic and ethical problem created for USA by the rubber shortage. A vast new industry is now planned which will produce 1,000,000 tons of synthetic rubber a year. Four-fifths will be produced from oil; one-fifth from wheat, via alcohol. Under the agreement made with the oil companies the US Government has the right to acquire the plants after the war—thus preventing the creation of a new powerful vested interest in the manufacture of synthetic rubber at a cost much above the world price of natural rubber. The oil companies alone, says Mr. Wallace, would not have been politically powerful enough to defeat the clause giving the Government the right to acquire; but now that production from corn-alcohol is also being planned, the farmers' bloc is equally interested in subsidizing the production of artificial rubber. Between the oil interests and the farmer interests, there is now imminent danger that, in a country where high tariffs are in the tradition, a new vested interest will be created absolutely opposed to the kind of economic world-society contemplated by the spokesmen of the American Administration.

I have used rubber (says Mr. Wallace) as an illustration of the new isolationism versus the new world outlook in order to indicate that what we are doing day by day at the present time is writing the peace. Unless we are watchful, the new isolationism will use not only rubber but many other similar products to get into the saddle and, once there, will force the kind of peace which inevitably will produce war.

Our readers should consider this case very carefully. Are the forces making for self-sufficiency, and the new isolationism, really retrogressive or not? It is easy to assume that they are; but when one remembers what happened to the farmers of America in the slump of 1929, it is impossible to blame them for jumping at anything that will provide a secure market for a basic agricultural product. No doubt, it is better to leave the future position of the synthetic rubber industry in USA fluid than to allow it to become a new and major vested interest in one of the elemental ingredients of the new mechanized world. But to assume, as so many do, that “world free trade” is what is required is wholly mistaken.

The choice before mankind is the choice between the new isolationism of great economic blocks, and a genuine economic world community, in which the motto “each for all and all for each” is a reality. That is too difficult to be probable. And the danger is that by merely pretending to pursue it we shall do more damage to humanity than by pursuing the humbler goal of economic self-sufficiency.

Irresponsible Second-Fronters

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY
(Continued from page one)

of the Nazi “reign of terror” in Europe with these words:

“Two political conclusions seem to be important. The physical and moral exhaustion of the oppressed nations grows with every year of the war; all reports from underground Europe, particularly those from the Slav countries, give alarming evidence of this exhaustion. Secondly, it would be a fallacy to suppose that this prodigious reign of terror fails to obtain some of its objectives; it does lead to depression and despondency. But this despondency borders on hope and eagerness for action as closely perhaps as it has ever done before; and which will prevail depends upon the next developments in the battlefield.”

“Developments”

THOSE next developments in the battlefield have not been encouraging. There seems to be no doubt that the Germans have crossed the Stalingrad-Krasnodar-Novorossiysk railway on a wide front. Though the News of the World (Aug. 2) carried a huge headline TIMOSHENKO STRIKES, and told the story of how a huge gap had been torn in the German flank, nothing was heard of this doubtful news in the evening. All the consolation the BBC news-bulletin had to offer was that the Germans had not broken through S-E of Zemlinsk, as they had beyond Bataisk and Salsk. From the reports themselves it is impossible to make out whether the Russians are retiring in good order or in rout. Probably it is something betwixt and between. But the admitted break-through at Bataisk-Salsk may be the crucial step to a major victory. As far as it is possible to compute, the Russians have now lost one half of their effective resources.

Friendly Invasion

DIFFICULTIES are likely to arise (I said last week) if these islands become a permanent base for an American army of some millions. This week other journals voice their apprehension concerning the effect of this friendly invasion. The much higher pay of the American soldier will produce “a scramble for goods and services, with American troops and British civilians the highest bidders and British troops the hindmost” (Economist, Aug. 1). The pay of an American private, excluding allowances, is more than £100 a year, i.e. £2 a week for purely personal spending. Moreover, American standards of feeding and accommodation for private soldiers, which are proportionately higher than the British, demand extra shipping and supplies. Suggestions are (1) the pay of the British soldier be increased (though not to the American level) and (2) there should be a restriction on the amount of his pay which the US soldier may spend in Britain. Thus we are likely to have some first-hand experience of the delights and discomforts of friendly occupation, such as we bestowed on Iceland. Like the British there, “The Americans expect to give expensive presents to their girls, and are not likely to think much about the feelings of the local population” (New Statesman, Aug. 1).

U.S. Politics

IN part because of the separation of the Executive from the Legislative, in part because of the vast distance between the country and the actual visible fighting, domestic politics are being pursued as vigorously as ever in the USA. At the forthcoming primaries it is apparently quite on the cards that the Democrats may win only a very narrow victory. Even Hamilton Fish, a very violent Isolationist Republican, is likely to be returned again. Indeed, it is generally admitted that Isolationism prior to Pearl Harbour is not going to tell against a man in the November elections.

Three points need to be noted: (1) the issue Democrat v. Republican is quite unaffected by the entry of the USA into total war; (2) now is being determined the composition of the Congress which will have the final word on all the imposing idealistic international arrangements which are being mooted by speakers for the Administration; (3) the economic self-sufficiency, which is now being pursued as a necessary war-measure, will powerfully play into the hands of Isolationism in the future. It will be very difficult for the New Dealers to make a convincing programme for American party-politics out of a proposal to scrap all the tremendous industrial machinery of war-time autarky.

Education in India

A RECENT broadcast on the future of education in India by Sir Henry Sharp (Listener, July 30) was notable for its sober realism. Sir Henry said that, being an optimist, he would make three assumptions: (1) that India, having achieved independence, will continue to exist as a united whole, governed centrally and provincially in a democratic spirit; (2) that there will be progress in social matters; (3) that more money will be available for education.

First under (2) comes the removal of the virtual ban which still exists on the education of women. “There is a deep prejudice against retaining girls at school after a very early age. India in the past has been like a cripple hobbling along on one leg. Give her the other leg, give her that peculiar and invaluable contribution which womanhood, emancipated womanhood, can make to the nation's forces... That will mark a revolution far more momentous than any constitutional change, any reform in method of government, can bring about.”

Desideratum (3) depends on increasing the productivity of agriculture, which will always be India's greatest industry. “At present the growth of population is in a proportion double the increase of the productivity. That makes for poverty.”

Emancipation

SUBSTANTIALLY, Sir Henry Sharp makes the same point which Katherine Mayo made so forcibly in “Mother India.” It is, for some reason, soft-pedalled nowadays. Every

hope of progress in India depends on the emancipation of Indian women; and by emancipation is meant not the full political emancipation of the West, however desirable that may be, but simply the degree of emancipation necessary to permit women to have a modest education. That immediately depends on the abolition of child marriage. Yet without this emancipation, and the refinement of sexual ethics which it involves, it will be for ever impossible to obtain the school-teachers necessary for the elementary education of boys and girls throughout the villages.

Gandhi's movement is a movement of emancipation for both the women and the villages. But Gandhi's version of Hinduism is full of revolutionary novelty. And I sometimes wonder how far it is really accepted by the Hindus of India. One cannot help noticing that Dr. Ambedkar, the political leader of the Untouchables, has joined the Viceroy's Cabinet as Minister of Labour and has given vent to his fears that the departure of the British Raj would mean an intensification of the religious tyranny of the Brahmins. Can nobody speak to us quite candidly on the matter? We talk glibly of India; but few of us know the reality.

“Deep Trouble”

IN the News Chronicle (Aug. 4) “Spotlight,” Mr. A. J. Cummings prints an extract from a letter from “an army friend of shrewd perceptions and outstanding ability” on the “deep trouble with the British Army.” Here is part of it:

“What is lacking? Action, decidedly. But more enduring, purpose. Very few really believe in the catchwords which are slung about in Fleet Street and Westminster: liberty, democracy, and all that. These words have been so used and re-used—let alone abused—that they have been drained of all their content.”

“When Churchill talks of ‘returning to a traditional Britain’ he comes near to evoking a response only by the accident of expressing the main idea of the soldiers, which is to get home. They don't want to build a great new world or die in building one; only Civvie Street talks like that. They just want to get it over and go home.”

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Bishops Stortford.—James Strachan, 92 Hadham Rd., Bishops Stortford.

Boston.—John E. Dodd, Millfield Lane, Frampton.

Caerphilly.—Miss L. M. Roberts, 13 Broomfield St., Caerphilly.

N.W. London Dist. and Harrow.—John W. Wheeler, 65 Greystoke Av., Pinner.

Pentre.—J. Gwyn Griffiths, Cadwgan, St. Stephen's Av., Pentre.

Risca.—A. E. Morton, 18 Belvedere Ter., Risca.

Shepherds Bush.—Phyllis M. Hallett, Hammersmith House, Ducane Rd., W.12.

Sunningdale.—E. A. Burch, 9 Bridge View, Sunningdale.

JOHN SCANLON on how Britain's

BLINDNESS LED TO WAR!

England alone, by virtue of her naturally slow political and economic evolution—an advantage in normal times but inconvenient in times of historical urgency—had difficulty in understanding these new regimes which were not essentially anti-British. During this war Britain had made necessary adaptations and had revolutionized her life; changes which were not only necessary for the conduct of the war, but, if they had been made earlier, might have prevented the war. (Dr. Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal, in a broadcast speech to the Portuguese nation on June 25, 1942).

THIS is the most profound statement made since the war. Quite bluntly it means that if British political leaders had known the inner meaning of the stirrings in Europe, the war need never have happened.

If Dr. Salazar's estimate is a correct one, besides being the most profound statement since the war, the part I have quoted is also the most tragic statement since the war.

If it is a correct estimate, it is an intimation that when sanity has returned and when men can view dispassionately all the events leading to the war they will be obliged to add the madness of 1939 to the madness of previous wars. If correct, some other statesman will be telling us in a few years time what Mr. Duff Cooper, speaking as an historian, told us in 1925:

It is impossible, looking back on the wars of the past, to decide what countries were aggressive and what were not... You can never decide justly who is the aggressor in any war. (House of Commons, March, 1925).

Now, whether Dr. Salazar is correct is not a matter of opinion. It is a matter of facts, and all the facts. For it can be said truly that in one respect at least this war differs from others in that there never was a period when the activities of the Hitler Government were regarded dispassionately. To explain the difference it need only be said that there were periods when our late enemy Kaiser Wilhelm was a welcome visitor

to our shores.

But almost from the date of Hitler's accession to power anti-Hitler demonstrations were being held in Britain. He came to full power on the death of President Hindenburg, for, until the death of President Hindenburg, Hitler could not sign decrees. President Hindenburg, died on August 2, 1934. In early 1934 the TUC was organizing a boycott of German goods as a protest against the treatment of Jews and Socialists.

It should be noted, however, that, until March 1939, no member of the British Government protested against Hitler either because he had abolished Parliamentary Government or for his treatment of the Jews. The protests made about Austria and Czechoslovakia were precisely the same protests as might have been made had Germany acted similarly while she was a Democracy.

AN IMPORTANT FACTOR

This is important in trying to assess whether Dr. Salazar has arrived at a correct estimate of the European situation. For whilst Mr. Chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer and as Premier was frequently in conflict with Germany on economic questions, no war would have been possible solely on economic questions.

Nobody will dispute, of course, that wars have been fought solely for economic reasons. But Mr. Chamberlain could not have received the consent of the nation to go to war merely to destroy the German autarkic system of trading, but for the agita-

tions and demonstrations against the German political system.

In looking over both the economic and political events of 1939-39 in order to try to find out if Dr. Salazar is correct, one remarkable failure stands out clearly. It is that those who denounced the German political acts seem to have been quite oblivious of the friction which took place in the economic field.

Germany could only pay debts to the equivalent of the amount of foreign exchange she herself had received over a given period. But the democratic forces in this country could not see any importance in such a decision. They protested against the treatment of the Jews and of the people in concentration camps.

The Government, on the other hand, while saying nothing on the internal affairs of Germany, took very strong action to prevent interference with the free flow of currencies. The Government, as we know, was fighting hard to re-acquire the favourable balance of trade lost in 1931.

As early as June 1934, Sir Frederick Leith Ross, Chief of the Treasury, was calling Germany's attention to the fact that Germany was paying only the same amount in debt payments as she had received in foreign exchange. Moreover, Sir Frederick was demanding that the matter be rectified “within the next few days.”

DID BRITAIN UNDERSTAND?

These were minor matters, of course, compared to the larger scheme of trading which developed under the German Four-Year Plan. But what we are concerned with is the statement that Britain did not understand the new regimes springing up in Europe, and also the statement that they were not anti-British and the charge that had we understood them there need not have been a war.

In examining the latter statement it will be generally accepted that this war could only come from certain material causes. None of us accepts the mediaeval conception that there was some indefinable impalpable “evil thing” in Europe. That conception takes us back to the period of the evil eye and witches on broomsticks. Whatever happened in Europe, good or bad, was the work of man.

What, after 1933, could have happened to warrant a war? There was (1) a threat to our liberties, which depended on (2) a physical invasion. The Committee of Imperial Defence had ruled out (2) so long as Britain had sea power, which undoubtedly she did have in 1933-39.

That may not rule out all the reasons for distrust of Germany, but it does rule out all the reasons so far advanced. Democracy

(Continued on page 4)

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

The Group Secretary

By AUDREY JUPP

THE process of Development should lead us to consider more closely than hitherto what are the functions of our officers. What, then, is the work of the Group Secretary?

"Always answer letters by return and never refuse money" was the advice offered by an "old hand" to a very raw PPU Secretary some years ago. At the time the remark seemed trivial, but afterwards it was realised that efficiency in detail was one of the most important attributes of a Group Secretary.

SECRETARIAL

In the first place the prompt answering of letters and the efficient keeping of records of membership, etc., play a large part in group work. The Secretary should always be prepared at the beginning of a meeting with the Agenda to hand to the Chairman. He should aim at keeping complete records of the activities of the group and of discussions on policy matters, and these latter may very usefully be copied and sent to the Area Representative.

Negligent and half-hearted secretarial work may make it all too easy for the group to become disunited. Members may be made to feel out of touch with the movement as a whole, and information intended to reach the members from the Area Committee and the National Council may never reach them.

ORGANIZATIONAL

Secondly, the organization of all activities carried on by groups is always finally the secretary's responsibility, but it is up to him to find out the particular attributes of his group members and use them to the advantage of the group. In fact, the competent secretary works all the time for the diminution of his own responsibility.

He who is able to draw from his members that responsible activity in the group is the genius of secretaries; he is like the conductor of an orchestra, not the dish-washer-in-chief to a group of non-active, non-co-operative, irresponsible members.

INSPIRATIONAL

Thirdly, the Secretary needs to use his imagination to inspire his group in the sense that when Council or Area Committee decides on a course of action, he should be able to make his membership see the possibilities of local action and the probable effect or outcome. He should naturally have his own opinions, but in as much as it is democratic to follow the decision of an elected Council, he should, conscientious objections apart, do all in his power to make his actions and those of his group collaborate with the suggestions of Council or Area in order to gain the advantage and inspiration of concerted action.

Full co-operation in regional and area affairs is also, of course, an essential, and should not take the form of complete sheep-like acceptance but of a whole-hearted attempt to share responsibility and to build up and maintain an efficient minimum organization.

The job of the Secretary may not be a conspicuous one, but enthusiastic, efficient secretaries play probably the most vital part of all in maintaining the energy and liveliness of the movement.

Stars

Among the distinguished French writers who collaborate with Germany may also be mentioned Georges Duhamel. I should think his best-loved idea is "Vive la collaboration franco-allemande." I remember, when he was appointed Chief of the French Radio, almost the first words he publicly declared were "Nul ostracisme ne frapperait les compositeurs d'une langue nationale qu'ils appartiennent." These men are Stars.

E. M. STANSFELD
51 Brunswick Ter., Leamington Spa.

The Conscientious Law - Breaker

It has been my job to attend a considerable number of court hearings of cases of prosecution of COs. I should like to record some impressions for the interest of members who are prevented by their work from having this opportunity.

MY first impression is one of immense gratitude to the COs concerned. We all hold in theory that pacifism rests ultimately on individual conviction, but our faith in this tends to get dulled in a world at war, when everything seems to depend on mass movements and organization, and when even those in nominal power seem to be themselves merely the helpless victims of forces which they can neither understand nor control.

The contrast comes out very strongly in court.

There have been few cases of any abuse of COs by either the prosecution or the magistrates: the atmosphere has usually been that of the unemotional, rather bored grinding out of a machine, so confident in its power that no blatant display of that power is necessary. And against this is set the cheerful, spontaneous, and divergent protests of a few apparently helpless individuals.

* * *

I want to stress this divergence.

Some COs have made a simple statement of their Christian faith. Some have said nothing. One young CO, with no previous experience of court proceedings, cross-examined witnesses with the competence of a trained lawyer. Another, a Jehovah's Witness, tried to prove, with quotations from standard legal authorities, that the bible is part of the British Constitution, and addressed the magistrates with the charm of one conducting an interesting discussion with friends.

There is no uniformity except in

courage and in the refusal to surrender individual moral responsibility.

* * *

I feel that in this divergence lies an essential part of the function of the conscientious law-breaker.

If all COs said the same things, and if they were all willing to take or unwilling to take the same lines of action, then even a totalitarian state could conceivably fit them into its scheme by some system of group exemptions.

But no totalitarian state can deal with a situation in which, for example, some COs protest against being excluded by their local authority from the civil defence services while other COs refuse to fire-watch for the same authority.

The existence of such odd people is a standing menace to any totalitarian system, a standing reminder to all governments that they are not infallible and to all legal systems that no general rule can satisfactorily cover all individual cases.

On the positive side the CO affirms his right and his obligation to take individual moral responsibility for his own decisions and actions.

Whether he is right or wrong in detail is comparatively unimportant, for in our uncertain world everyone must risk making mistakes. But his conviction that the State is not the ultimate moral authority and that he must act according to his own conscience and judgment, even though these are fallible, this is a contribution of supreme importance both to morality and to citizenship, and its value is perhaps greatest at times like the present when it is least appreciated.

CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE

RECOIL

THE following (in leaded type) appears in an article by John Gordon in the Sunday Express (Aug. 2):

Germany, the originator of war by air terror, is now finding that terror recoiling upon herself with an intensity that even Hitler in his most sadistic dreams never thought possible.

The more you think over that sentence, the more wonderful its implications become. I felt it should be featured somewhere.

VERA BRITAIN

Russia's Ideals

I have been very interested in the correspondence started by "Observer's" remarks about Russia, and must thank you for publishing Mr. Gatehouse's appeal for "a little more of the charitable spirit of understanding the human weaknesses and mistakes of our Russian comrades." This seems to me exactly the tone required.

The July 7 Manchester Guardian contained an open letter from the Soviet writer Leo Uspensky to Mr. H. G. Wells. He writes:

Above all such terms as "tribal" and "national," above such words as "yours" and "ours," not abolishing them, not detracting from their charm or value, but rather rendering them more poignant and profound, there stands the lofty and comprehensive concept of the all-human, the universal, that which belongs to all who are worthy of the name of man.

It seems to me that this letter, in its transcending of national ideals, is a topical illustration of the truth of Mr. Gatehouse's point about the fundamental difference between Russia and Germany, wherein no word is above "national."

It seemed worth while to quote the letter because it went on to provide illustration of the "wrong road to the right destination." It continues: "It is these common values we must now defend... we Russians are prepared to march to the end in this fight for... reason over brute instinct." This seems to me pathetic in its failure to realize that war itself is an appeal to brute instinct and cannot therefore show the triumph of reason over it, nor indeed anything except that the so-called victors possess, not the greater right, but the greater might.

REG. P. ROBERTS
3 Osborne Rd., Altrincham.

Letters to the Editor

The Editor to Correspondents:—

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

Cost of War

WHEN, as in your issue of July 10, you mention such a fact as that "the total cost of the war in its first three years amounts to £10,000,000,000" and that "our expenditure is now more than £12,500,000 a day," it is pertinent to ask: What about it?

There is this about it that matters very much. The truth—stranger than fiction—appears to be that the greater proportion of these astronomical sums come into being in pursuance of a colossal swindle. In 1927 Prof. Frederick Soddy, M.A., F.R.S. in an address at Cardiff on, "The Wrecking of a Scientific Age" said:

Our so-called political economy enables bankers... to lend... what costs them less than a postage stamp to produce (my bold type).

Referring to this same comfy little arrangement, the Duke of Bedford, in his booklet "Poverty and Over-Taxation" points out that

by writing down some figures at the cost of a few drops of ink and a fraction of a clerk's wages, in order to provide new money to lend to the Government, the bank is able to secure for itself a safe income of millions of pounds (my bold type).

Last September, F. W. Jowett (ex-Commissioner of Works) wrote in a Bradford paper:

We are heading straight for a £20,000,000,000 debt, and a large part of the debt already recorded is for the loan of bank-created credit money—counterfeit money—inflation (my bold type).

Your space does not permit of elaboration upon the question: What can be done about it? but, in his excellently produced booklet above-mentioned (price 6d.), the Duke of Bedford lucidly discusses "the way out" of the atrocious stranglehold.

CHAS. W. D. NEWMAN
Beechcroft, Brownhill, Stroud.

RECENT PAMPHLETS

Reviewed by H. P. FOWLER

New Ways of Living: Industry in the Country. By David B. Williamson. (Peace Pledge Union. 9d.)

HERE is an approach to one of Britain's really important problems. Indeed, urban development has so obscured our rural life that, at the present stage, our understanding of the question does not allow for much more than an introduction.

Mr. Williamson is looking to the future—a distant future I fear—but he indicates clearly the tie-up of many of our perplexities (such as unemployment, location of industry, housing, education, etc) with a knowledge of the true function of rural areas and rural communities in an industrialized society. As he says, the task is to achieve a new synthesis between agricultural and industrial life.

The demands of war are forcing us to attempt this. Food requirements focus attention upon British agriculture, while strategic considerations result in transfers of population from the congested areas. As this forced march of industry was necessary even before the war, its actual event may be expected to have some permanence. Electric power has made this possible, and industries no longer require to be situated on the coalfields, which, until recently, have been decisive in the location of industry. It would seem that long-term developments and present-day requirements conspire to direct our attention to the matters which this writer discusses.

Freedom for Colonial Peoples. Peace Aims Pamphlet No. 11. Contributed by Rita Hinden, W. Arthur Lewis, Norman Bentwich, A. Creech Jones, and Robert Adams. (National Peace Council, 39 Victoria St., S.W.1. 9d.)

Events in the colonial sphere have moved so rapidly, and, from the British viewpoint, so catastrophically, that it is virtually impossible to be realistic about future policy. But this 38-page conference report is a good attempt.

The appalling time-lag between the needs and our realization of them was clearly in the minds of all the speakers, and voiced in no uncertain manner by Mr. Robert Adams, a negro from the West Indies. Up-to-date, reliable information about colonial matters is not easily procurable, and this publication deserves careful study.

I chanced to read my copy the day the Governor of Burma boasted of the "absolute devastation" we had achieved there; including the wrecking of the sewage plant in overcrowded, tropical Rangoon. Can't it be realized that this sort of policy brings the good intentions of colonial reformers to something a good deal worse than failure?

Whited Sepulchres. A political record of the Church of Scotland. By Oliver Brown. (The Scottish Secretariat, 28 Elmbank Cres., Glasgow. 4d.)

This is sad reading. It consists of quotations compiled to show how, at divers times and in divers matters, the Church of Scotland has denied its creed. The compilation is made "from the point of view of a Socialist who has studied the Church as a political institution participating in the class struggle on behalf of the rich against the poor; of the oppressors against their victims." It purposely omits any reference to the Church's service to education, its care of the poor, or the devotion of many of its ministers. What Mr. Brown does show is that the Church of Scotland has had the same shortcomings as the people who comprise it. The guilty record is evidence of our common failures.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RUSSIA'S REVOLUTION

From W. H. Chamberlin's *Iron Age in Russia*, pp. 228/9:—

As time goes on it seems increasingly probable that the main historical significance of the Russian Revolution, outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union, will be not economic but political. No country at the present time seems likely to imitate the economic and social features of the Bolshevik Revolution. But two large European countries, Italy and Germany, have taken over with conspicuous success the Bolshevik formula for successful government: unlimited propaganda plus unlimited repression.

The Bolshevik Revolution imagined itself the herald of an international working-class revolution. It has actually been the predecessor of the nationalist middle-class revolutions headed by Mussolini and Hitler... In more than one way Bolshevism (unconsciously and unwillingly of course) has paved the way for Fascism. It has provided the whole Fascist technique of government: a single party, headed by a leader of unquestioned authority, bound by severe discipline, monopolizing all governmental power; a deluge of propaganda and emotional appeals for the masses; concentration camps and, in extreme cases, firing squads for the few obstinate spirits who resist.

Moreover, Fascism is definitely a reaction to a real or imaginary threat of Communism. It is certainly no accident that in those countries where Communism has never taken serious root (America, England, France, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, for instance), there is also no Fascist movement of any consequence.

News of C.O.s

"CAT & MOUSE"
TO STAY?

THE Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has now had a reply to its request for a deputation to Mr. Bevin on the "cat and mouse" question.

Received on July 29 (after last week's Peace News had gone to press), it is an unfavourable reply. It states that COs who, having served a term of imprisonment for refusing to be medically examined, have either declined to appeal again to the tribunal or have had their application refused must remain liable for military service, "although their calling up may be deferred in cases where men are sent to engage in essential civilian work."

The CBCO is not likely to let the matter rest.

This, the most pressing aspect of the CO's position today, was the outstanding characteristic of the treatment of COs in 1916-18. Stephen Thorne, who went through the process three or four times in the last war, writes on behalf of those now affected, in the August issue of the CBCO Bulletin.

Other items in the Bulletin (3d., from 6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.) include a report of a schoolboy who refused to join the cadets, was "asked to leave," but was later allowed to stay.

MONEY CONTROL

To the Editor of Peace News

As a constant reader of Peace News, I am pleased to note that your various writers have analysed the economic causes of war fairly well. They fail however to show that "money" control by bankers is the root cause of this economic evil which always leads to economic slumps and booms and finally war.

Therefore, if the intelligent people of this or any other country intend to take over the reins of office under a new order, it is absolutely essential that they begin now to instruct the people by simple lessons on money, which is only a token of real wealth. This I believe will do more than other persuasive means to enlist pacifists to the cause of humanity. Never let anyone forget that Christ fed the people before he preached to them, and that he also drove the "money changers" (or bankers) from the Temple, literally and physically.

Start your editorials and articles on money and economics and organize your members politically so that we can give the people what they need, viz. a "People's Party" only and a People's Government, instead of the bankers' political parties.

THOMAS GALWAY CARLISLE

C.B.C.O. BULLETIN

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August Bulletin now on sale

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LONDON REGIONAL BOARD FOR C.O.s

Conference

C.O.s AND CIVIL DEFENCE

Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

August 15th, 2.30 p.m.

In the Chair:
Leonard Trayner (Northern District).

Speakers:

Joe Brayshaw (C.B.C.O.), etc.

Admission Free. C.O.s in Civil Defence are urgently requested to attend this meeting, the purpose of which is to define the special needs of C.O.s in Civil Defence, and work out, with them, the most effective method of local organisation, if such organisation is found to be necessary.

One in Your Town?



THIS is what the Food Relief shop looks like. Leicester was the first local committee to sponsor a shop, but others are now open in Stoke-on-Trent, Droylesden (Manchester), Bermondsey, and Birmingham.

Sets are available free to committees able to open shops in their districts for a week or more. Inquiries are invited at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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C.O. and wife wish to share furnished house at moderate charge in country. Musselwhite, Marthall, Knutsford, Cheshire.

C.O. LANDWORKER. University graduate, requires board-lodging, convenient, N. Midlands. Must have own room for study. Box 410 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EAST MIDLANDS. Would friend able to give assistance in finding unfurnished house or flat, now or later, for C.O. and mother in Nottingham/Leicester/Derby district, please write. Postage refunded. Box 412 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooke, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

PACIFIST AND WIFE seek restful holiday by sea in mid-August. Particulars to Box 409 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST, bachelor, 30, requires unfurnished flat, two rooms and kitchenette, Palmers Green or district, moderate rent. Write Box 387 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST WIDOW, needing companionship, offers C.O. and wife share of home. Good garden, agricultural district, land work obtainable. Gower, Crossways, Wickham Bishops, Essex.

SMALL BUNGALOW to let (furnished); suit couple; charming coastal situation; all electric. Terms 30/- weekly. Cooper, Trebarwith Strand, Tintagel, N. Cornwall.

THREE UNFURNISHED rooms to let in quiet private house nice residential part Chesham: Telephone. Suit two business ladies. Box 408 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

THE WORD

Edited By Guy A. Aldred.

August issue contents include the usual striking Anti-War essays and illustrations. F. W. Jowett states the case for an Anti-War Socialist Government. Communist "War" Charlatanism exposed by the editor. The Bedford Programme. Other studies by Lady Dunn; Rev. H. J. Dale; John Roebuck; S. W. Frances; etc. and the popular "Letter Box." Cartoon by "Gowrie."

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FOR SALE & WANTED

FOR REGIONAL ORGANIZATION, typewriter urgently needed, Dartford. Loan or cheap sale. Also hand duplicator. Please help with offers to Hon. Organizing Secretary, Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

HAS ANYONE TIMBER HUT 20ft. long exchange good bookcase. Beech Bank, Little Browne's Lane, Edenbridge.

PACIFIST COUPLE on farm work in Liverpool district urgently require pram, cheap. Box 420 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LAND & COMMUNITY

HOUSE AND LAND wanted by pacifists wishing to start Christian agricultural community, Midlands preferred. Box 419 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARKET GARDEN Community has vacancy for housekeeper and one land worker. Box 418 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARRIED COUPLE need partnership in smallholding. Box 404 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

ETHEL MANNIN writes "Act of God" in summer issue New Vision, pacifist review. Also many other features. Copy 5d. post free from Publisher, 47 Argyle Sq., W.C.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

CARETAKERS WANTED (married couple) Friends Meeting House, Leicester. House, heat and light provided. Write Hugh Collinson, 16 Kingsway Rd., Leicester

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JOHN SCANLON

(Continued from page 2)

could not be endangered by Germany without an invasion.

We must rule out also any question of Britain declaring war because we disliked Germany's political system or the political manifestations arising out of the system. The British Government has never objected to dictatorship as a principle, at least to the extent of declaring war. It helped Horthy and Dollfuss to establish dictatorships in Hungary and Austria respectively.

Britain does not declare war, either, merely because of the religious practices of foreign countries.

NO REASON FOR REARMING

Doubtless Mr. Baldwin understood implicitly what was involved in dictatorships and in religious liberty. Yet in 1936, when he told us he was rearming, he did not give any reason whatever except that Germany was rearming. Nor did he say why Germany was rearming, or that the British plan for the Disarmament Conference in 1932 was that Germany should have equality in arms with France.

It is here that Dr. Salazar may be a more understanding student of European events than Mr. Baldwin or Mr. Chamberlain. He does not attempt to say Germany did not rearm. Therefore he assumes that Germany's rearmament was not a menace to Britain any more than our rearmament was a menace to Germany.

This brings us to the fundamental question: Why do nations rearm? The answer of all nations is—to protect their vital interests, which are always defined as their trading interests. True Mr. Chamberlain has said that the German autarkic system of trading was a menace to British trade. But was it? I would like to examine this next week.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London N.4. by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co., (T.U.), London N.16.

SITUATIONS VACANT (Cont.)

HOUSEKEEPER urgently required by vegetarian family of three where help is employed. Peck, 32 Greenhill Rd., Leicester.

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SINGLE MAN required on small Cornish farm: partnership considered; state experience. Box 389 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. 32, AND WIFE, some experience, keen to learn, require mixed or dairy farm work. Box 407 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 40, unfit, seeks light work. Was railway storekeeper and engine fitter; interested handicrafts, library work. Box 416 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (45), Linguist/Translator, fluent French, German, Spanish, Dutch, good knowledge Russian and Italian; shorthand-typist, seeks job as translator, teacher, etc. Box 415 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EXPERIENCED PSYCHOLOGIST and wife (trained nurse) desire position of trust together, with ample accommodation (preferably own house or cottage) and good salary. Capable of managing Mental Home or similar. Would also like to hear from schools and farms with suggestions. No long hours or strain as both are trying to recover from an overwork already received. Available September or near. Box 414 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

GRADUATE required in September (temporary or permanent) to teach History and English and subsidiary Geography. Please state age, training and experience. Burgess Hill School, Redhurst, Cranleigh, Surrey. Boys and girls 5-14.

PACIFIST, 51, requires work as collector salesman. Box 406 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PUBLIC SCHOOL man and wife desire offers of permanent position together in reputable job which the Government would be likely to allow them to retain. Both are strongly conscientious and good workers but not very strong physically just at present owing to overstrain. Part-time work possibly developing gradually into full-time preferred. Any country district, but preference for in or near New Forest. Box 413 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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